

Migrant Sexworkers in Japan: Moving from Modernisation to Globalisation

著者	Aoyama Kaoru
journal or publication title	Asian Gender under Construction: Global Reconfiguration of Human Reproduction
volume	36
page range	197-210
year	2010-03-31
その他のタイトル	近代化からグローバル化を生きる移住性労働者
URL	http://doi.org/10.15055/00002464

Migrant Sexworkers in Japan: Moving from Modernisation to Globalisation¹

Kaoru Aoyama

Kyoto University

Women Cross-Border Migrants Working in the Sex Industry in Japan

The sex industry in Japan appears to be rampant. Many women from abroad seem to be working here, although there are no statistics available to count them exactly as they are usually not documented as workers. In Japan, sexwork is ambiguously and partially criminalised under the Prostitution Prevention Act: conducting sexual intercourse for compensation, or the promise of it, with unspecified partners; soliciting others to this in public view; and/or using others for these purposes are prohibited (Arts. 2; 5; 6). But there is no definition of ‘sexual intercourse,’ or ‘unspecified partners,’ nor is there any means to apply these rules to any sexual intercourse conducted in privacy. There is, on the other hand, the Entertainment and Amusement Trades Control Act which permits ‘sex-related amusement special businesses’ under the registration of each local Public Safety Commission. In practice this means that many kinds of sex-related work, including offering intercourse as part of the service, occur without being questioned by law as most of it takes place in private space.

However, the situation is different for non-Japanese nationals as jobs within the sex industry are specifically forbidden for foreign nationals without long-term residency by the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act (Art. 19). Non-residential migrants have been defined as illegal if they work in the sex industry since the establishment of the ICRR Act after the Second World War (see Aoyama 2010, forthcoming). There was an exception to this rule until recently as the visa/work-permit for professional artists was issued to many Filipinas to work in the sex industry, thus it has been colloquially called the ‘entertainment visa’. But this exception too is giving way to the rule since policing of the sex industry has become more stringent (see below). Yet despite the illegality, the sex industry in Japan has not stopped attracting migrant women who need income, particularly since the Japanese currency became stronger vis-à-vis the US dollar in 1985.

Since 2005, however, the legal conditions for migrant sexworkers have changed. As I and

1 Work in Progress: please contact kaoru@jca.apc.org BEFORE you quote.

my research colleagues have reported elsewhere (8th ICAAP 2007), more stringent policing has been applied to the sex industry in relation to a major law amendment in the Penal Code. This change happened as the Japanese jurisdiction newly established the Trafficking in Persons Prohibition Clauses within the Penal Code, and other relevant laws were also amended, such as the Entertainment and Amusement Trades Act, the Passport Act and the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act. As a background to this, there was a Japanese government plan for ratification of the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons supplementing the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime enacted in 2003. The Japanese government needed to amend the law to be able to criminalise trafficking in persons from abroad to Japanese territory, as well as to protect victims.

The Immigration Control Bureau and the Police Agency could thus be proud of having succeeded in punishing some perpetrators, rescuing some victims of trafficking (see Figure 1)² and reducing the overall numbers of ‘illegal’ overstayers as they publish these figures (see Figure 2 further down). But sexworkers themselves, their supporters and researchers working with them are not so optimistic about the law enforcement’s success. They think two trends are being created as a consequence of the more stringent policing: those who still work in the industry tend to no longer have illegal status, i.e. they tend to have spouse visas; and those who still have illegal status have disappeared from the researchers’ and/or outreach-workers’ sight, i.e. they have possibly gone more underground or to a more dangerous situation than before the year 2005 (c.f. Hubbard 2006; Ministry of Justice and the Police, Norway 2004)³ [Figure 1].


The representation of what has happened to the migrants in the sex industry differs depending on who by and how they are represented, of course. But particularly so in Japan as this is a social phenomenon about which we have very little quantitative and qualitative evidence so far. Accordingly, in this paper, I will introduce a part of the first research on this along with conceptual frameworks to connect it to contemporary global social conditions.

2 National Police Agency/Living Environment Section, 2006, *Heisei 17 nendo chū ni okeru jinshin torihiki jihan no genjo ni tsuite* [On the Current Situation of Cases of Trafficking in Persons in the FY 2005], Feb. 9: <http://www.npa.go.jp/safetylife/seikan22/20060209.pdf> (sited on 31st Aug. 2009).

3 Phil Hubbard found this in the UK. The Norwegian Police also conducted research on regulations on prostitution in Swedish and Netherland in 2004. The report found that sexworkers in Sweden had been exposed to more dangerous dealings since the law to punish purchasers of their services was established (pp. 46–47).

Figure 1:

Arrest situation of human trafficking (Data of the National Police Agency)



	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
red-inker	64	44	51	79	81	72
number of arrests	40	28	41	58	83	78
broker	9	7	8	23	26	24
Total of victims	65	55	83	77	117	58
Philippines	12	2		13	40	30
Indonesia	4		3		44	14
Taiwan	7	3	12	5	4	10
Thailand	39	40	21	48	21	3
South Korea				3	1	1
Romania					4	
Australia					1	
Estonia					1	
Columbia	3	6	43	5	1	
Russia				2		
Laos				1		
China		4	2			
Cambodia			2			

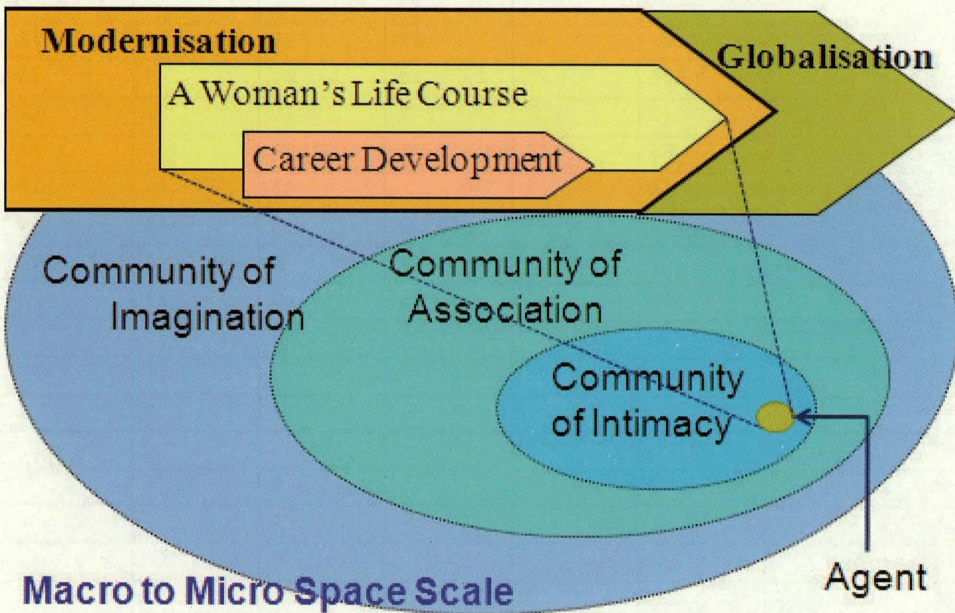
Source: National Police Agency (2006, see footnote 2)

Inter-Determinacy between Individual Experiences and Macro Social Transformation: Centralising Agency

My theoretical interest lies in interaction and inter-determination between the individual experiences of the migrant women involved in the sex industry and macro-social transformation. Broadly speaking, the ethics and politics of sexwork are contingent on conditions and contexts in the culture, discourse, geography, time and so on where sexwork takes place. This means that I do not see a point in making moral judgments about sexwork. Instead, I do state as follows: in some situations, sexwork exposes those who are involved to extreme deprivation often combined with violence akin to slavery; in other situations, sexwork provides them with not only economic but also psychological sufficiency to survive in the global inequality of class, gender, race, etc.; accordingly it is important for them to have access to the latter, i.e. better situations; and for them to do so the job of researchers including myself is to enhance their agency (see further discussion in Aoyama 2009: esp. pp.194–200).

Figure 2:

Macro to Micro Time Scale



Aoyama Original

'Agency' here means a social entity having capability to act as she decides what to do in making sense of the surrounding situation (Stones 2005: 66–67; Giddens 1984/2001: 2). This is an apt term to emphasise the relationship between society, including all sorts of pressures within it, and the agent—in this paper an individual migrant woman sexworker—who experiences the society. This is always an on-going and inter-determining relationship. Figure 3 below shows my conceptualisation of this.

For the purpose of my research on migrant sexworkers, there are two frameworks to consider this inter-determination between an individual's experience and the society around her: the timescale and the spatial scale. The time scale runs through the agent's career development, her life-course, and from modernisation to globalisation. The spatial scale covers the area between human relationships from the Community of Intimacy to the Community of Imagination (I will explain soon). Both these scales have to stretch from the micro to the macro.

In the time scale, the agent has a career that develops within her life-course which runs chronologically towards the future. Then, the woman's whole career development and life-

course are set against the backdrop of the larger social history of modernisation to globalisation (in my terms globalisation is an extension of modernisation).

In terms of the spatial scale, the immediate community around the agent is the Community of Intimacy which consists of intimate relationships. Surrounding it is the Community of Association which is a more functional and sometimes institutional community, including schools, temple gatherings, companies, etc. As you can see, the borders between the communities are not clear lines. The Community of Intimacy is within and in relation to the Community of Association. Family, for instance, is within both Communities of Intimacy and Association. Both exist only in relation to the other, and to another outer community called the Community of Imagination. The outer Community of Imagination means a more idealistic community existent only with the support of the imagination of that community's members. Take Benedict Anderson's example of a nation state as an imagined community (Aoyama 2009: 108; Anderson 1991/2003: 5–6; 154), it is not only the land we can see and live on that makes Japan exist. Members of Japan as a nation state need a certain imagination to sustain the concept of a nation state, based on which they develop their belief in nationality, sovereignty, the credit system of 'Japanese' currency, 'Japanese' history, etc. If they did not have this concept, they could not call this land 'Japan' in the sense of a contemporary nation state. This imagination widely cuts across all of the communities as well as linking the spatial scale to the time scale, as I tried to show with the figure above. And, within all these different layers of communities, the agent always exists in relation to all of them.

The Basis and Characteristics of Modernisation

To explore the idea of inter-determinacy between the agent and her society in the time scale in relation to the issue at hand, migrant sexwork, let me explain the characteristics of modernisation first. Modernisation is characterised by industrialisation (in other words, the transformation of modes of production), the development of individualism and the devaluation of religious or communal norms. With all these characteristics, it typically affects the meanings of gender and sexuality, among other socially constructed aspects of identity, for members of a modernised society. Experiences of industrialisation, individualisation and changes to the communal norm differ depending on which gender one is assigned to in a society. A well known example is women becoming wage labourers more and more through industrialisation, or the so-called feminisation of labour, occurring in different societies in these contexts. But this phenomenon is ambivalent because there are good sides and bad sides to it in

modernisation; such as industrial production with cash income acquiring a higher social value devaluing reproductive labour by women at the same time as giving women their own income, even though meagre, and solitude away from home/house work, even though they have to go back home to do that every evening. This was a longed-for necessity, for example, for middle-class women in modernising Europe to become autonomous persons, as in Virginia Wolf's vindication. After this, individuals who have changed through being affected by these social changes then become the agents who pursue the changes further or towards different directions (see further discussion on modernisation, gender and globalisation in Aoyama 2009: esp. 40–55).

The Basis and Characteristics of “Globalisation”

Globalisation occurred as an extension of the changing forces of modernisation. The characteristics of globalisation can be summarised as the ever increasing cross-border mobility of goods, money, information and people. This stems from politics, economy and the media, all of which often require a concentration of their controlling power. Then the controlling power typically invites the deregulation of the commodity, financial and labour markets of a nation state so as to lower the national borders for enterprises with the power to participate and accumulate in the global economy. As for the globalisation of information, access to the internet and telecommunications matter for these changes. Like the inter-determinacy between social change and individual experience in modernisation, access to a wide-ranging information network at small cost can make lay individuals the agencies of pushing globalisation ever further as it can lead them to participate in the global labour market, hence causing migration, as a good example. Although this inter-determinacy as such is not a straightforward linear happening, and although cultural idiosyncrasy always makes its detail and speed differ in every society, the inter-determinacy is in general terms always affecting both society and the agents, moving and developing around us in a spiral, so to speak.

Negative Effects of Globalisation

Globalisation too has good sides and bad sides. However, in focusing on my research area where most of the agents involved are women from rural or urban poor families in so-called ‘developing’ or newly industrialised countries, I have concluded that the negative effects of globalisation are more prominent so far. The ‘free’ market economy created by de-

regulation as above does not offer fair competition, as the economic, political and informational power concentration is based on power relations dating back to the colonial period. Those underdeveloped former colonies, as development studies show, have never had a real chance to catch up with the developed colonisers economically as they have the handicap of having been deprived of labour and resources from the starting point of the 'free' economic exchange (see Nussbaum 2001: 248–252; Sen 1999: esp.13–86).

Because of this unequal development from modernisation to globalisation together with the gender divide as mentioned above, the feminisation of poverty, i.e. more women than men living under the one US Dollar poverty line, occurred particularly in so-called developing countries. The poverty rate among women in the world became clearly higher in the 1980s after two decades of development planning at an international level, with one probable reason being development policies and local cultural conditions being 'gender blind' against women. Neither of these had the scope to encourage women's access to resources separately from their male heads of household or their participation in formal education and economic life.⁴ In many cultures, this worked to make women's work more informal with less recognition from states and society at large (see e.g., Devaki 2005: 107–122). Women's resulting poverty made them more in need of cash income. It also made them migrate more as mobile labour forces because women had already become, broadly speaking, wage labourers in the setting of modernisation, and over long distances because the already industrialised countries had more demand for labour as well as supply of money. Arlie Hochschild, the American sociologist who coined the term 'emotional labour,' called this phenomenon 'new gold,' that is, women's labour being extracted from developing countries by developed countries (2002/2003: 26). This new gold is extracted from various countries including China, Thailand and the Philippines to the sex industry, one of the largest sections of the informal economy in Japan.

Trafficking in Women and Its Prevention Schemes

The fact that many women are in the informal sector of the economy has situated them in a vulnerable position in migration. Out of necessity, as they lack formal access to the global job market such as legal and official recruitment, they have tended to rely on so-called 'brokers'

4 In the case of northern Thailand for example, legal modernisation employing and recording the ownership right to land was encouraged in the nation's development planning, for instance. But this clearly resulted in the deprivation of women's inheritance of land, which was hitherto a culturally practiced 'right' attached to the regional system of female centred lineage, because the record of land ownership became written and for things written on official paper people used the names of male heads of households (Aoyama 2009: esp. 42–46).

or traffickers who deal with the informal trade in persons as a labour force. In recent studies of trafficking in persons, it has been found that many of those who are trafficked are aware that they are in the hands of informal—‘illegal’ from the view of states’ immigration control—organisations (e.g., Nyota and Aoyama 2006: 69–71). As they are an illegal existence for nation states, they are more likely not to be protected by the law against abuse and exploitation, or they assume they are not anyway (e.g., JNATIP and F-GENS 2005).

Trafficking in persons became an international problem to tackle since the beginning of the 1990s, and resulted a decade later in forming a protocol against it within the UN Convention against Trans-border Organised Crime as stated above. Japan as a society as well as a nation state has been urged by the United Nation’s organisations including the International Labour Office, international NGOs such as Human Rights Watch and the United States government to eliminate trafficking in its sex industry as a major breeding ground of organised crime (ILO 2004; Human Rights Watch 2000). Together with the Anti-Trafficking Protocol, the annual Trafficking in Persons Report by the US Department of State in 2004 pushed the Japanese government to plan to tackle trafficking by warning Japan that it would be ranked at the bottom of the league of nation states with a poor record in efforts to eliminate trafficking (US Department of State 2004: 14; 96–97).⁵ It seems that the law amendments above materialised in 2005 because of these pressures from outside.

The fundamental change was the establishment of the Prevention of Trafficking Clauses in the Penal Code. The Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act was amended so that recognised trafficking victims would be able to remain in Japan if they wanted or needed to, and the Entertainment and Amusement Trade Act, which makes a large part of the sex industry legal in Japan within regulations, was amended to make it mandatory for employers to check the visa statuses of potential migrant workers.

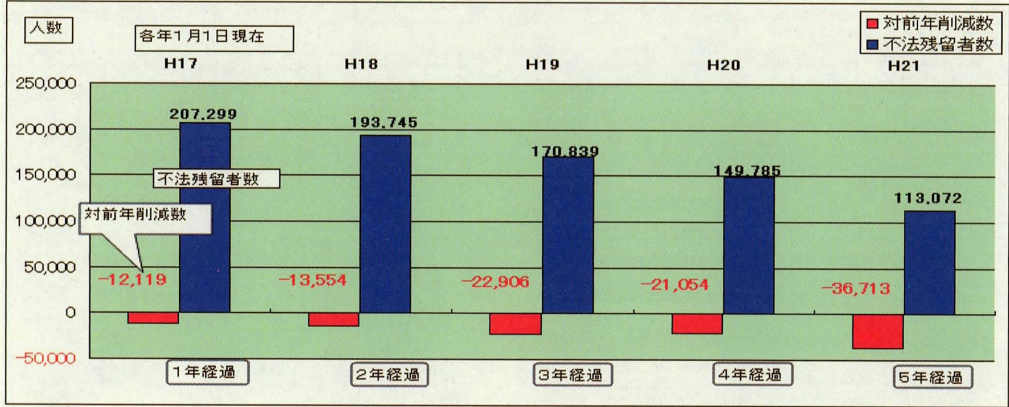
General Aim to Reduce Overstayers: Creating the “Suspect” Image of Foreigners

From the year 2005, the Immigration Control Bureau within the Japanese Ministry of Justice conducted a five year project called ‘Halve the Illegal Stayers’, which, from their point of view, succeeded in dramatically decreasing the estimated numbers of undocumented

⁵ As I argued elsewhere, this US report, at least at that time, had its own problems. It was American centred in at least four ways: basing itself on only one domestic law; threatening those nations with a poor record with possible sanctions through its economic power; stating that trafficking was a matter of state security for the US (by the then State Secretary Rice in US Department of State 2006: 3), thus implying a military threat; and not evaluating the US’s own actions about trafficking in persons.

Figure 3: Reduction of ‘Illegal’ Overstayers during the 5-year Period of ‘Halve the Illegal Stayer Project’

[対前年削減数 = Number Reduced from the Previous Year] [不法残留者数 = Number of Illegal Overstayers]
[人数 = Number of People] [各年 1 月 1 日現在 = As of Jan. 1 each year]
[H17 ~ H21 = the year 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, respectively]
[1 年経過 ~ 5 年経過 = after 1 year, 2 years, 3 years, 4 years, 5 years, respectively]



Source: Ministry of Justice (2009, see footnote 6)

overstayers altogether. In total, the number of ‘illegal’ overstayers had decreased from around 207,000 in 2005 to 113,000 in 2009, or by 48.5 percent. ‘This was’, the bureau stated, ‘a result of deploying comprehensive measures against illegal stayers, such as stringent immigration screening and prosecution through cooperation with relevant agencies’ (see Figure 3).⁶

The Immigration Control Bureau distributed through their website a leaflet calling for people to ‘Help us to stop illegal work by foreigners’ as in Figure 4.

Through this, in a continuum of anti-trafficking measures, the Japanese Immigration Control Bureau advertised not only to employers, who have always had the possibility of being required to do so, but to the Japanese general public for help checking foreigners’ identification. This might well have had deeper implications: permeating a discourse of suspicion as potential criminals against all presumable foreign nationals regardless of their official status for remaining in Japan, since one can know a foreign national’s actual status only by checking after suspecting their illegality.

How Migrant Sexworkers are in Japan Now

Against these policy implementations and statistics from the state, I would like to present

6 Ministry of Justice/Immigration Bureau, 2009, *Honpou ni okeru fuhou zanryusha su ni tsuite* [On Illegal Over-stayers in This Country] (as of Jan. 1, 2009), Press Release, Feb. 17 (sited on 31st Aug, 2009).

Figure 4:

[illegible]

Source: Home Office Website: <http://www.moj.go.jp/NYUKAN/campaign18nen.html> (sited on August 31st, 2009). This is from the year 2006 version of the leaflet.

the other side of the story: the statements of migrants in the sex industry, to shed light on the agent who should be centralised in this social phenomenon.⁷

Out of the 80 or so migrant sexworkers who we came into contact with, the research team including myself have only managed to have in-depth interviews with three Thai, six Filipina and ten Chinese sexworkers in Japan so far. These were a small minority of those who did converse with us and sometimes answered questionnaires for each nationality group. Still, outreach work to draw attention towards minority accounts is nevertheless sociologically sound. These are the agents whose experiences are formed by their social conditions and thus need to be centralised as the main force to change the very conditions in turn.

An outreach note by a colleague of mine noted on December 2006 as follows:

[at K] the employers and barkers (who entice customers to come in to their shops) at the entrance say, 'It's tough 'coz they tightened the net of the crackdown' or 'It's

7 These are from both my independent interviews and larger on-going research since 2003 with SWASH, an advocacy NGO for sexworkers' health and safety, on migrant sex workers mainly in the Tokyo and Kansai areas.

getting harsh now and impossible to work with a tourist visa'. And they don't tell me exactly where foreigners can work. This world has got so underground that even the barkers can't immediately answer where how many of what kind of shops are, and we can't grasp accurate information. A Chinese 'aesthetic saloon' manager says things like, 'They'll come back when a certain Tokyo mayor's term ends'⁸ or 'They'll come back in the New Year period 'coz the police don't move then'. The manager of O says that there'll be a wholesale police raid in the year end. [...] Now, many workers fear that they'll get another absurd punishment, human rights violation during the investigation, deportation, and another debt [for the expense of returning home] (original in Japanese).

This was after the law amendment. At this sex shop K, and in the surrounding area, they are weary of the aftermath of the amendment and feeling fearful about the crackdown and deportation. Migrant workers without the right visa status to work there seem to have gone somewhere unknown even to their Japanese co-workers and barkers around the area. The outreach worker further worries about potentially worsened human rights violations by the police as she has known the industry for a long time, and about the possibility of more debt bondage if the migrants are deported and need to borrow money for return flights.

In contrast, however, all those who responded to the interviews, meaning those who have not disappeared, asserted that they are documented workers, working in a legal part of the sex industry regulated by the Entertainment and Amusement Trade Act with residential visas such as spouse and student visas. This is interesting because marriage is used as a way to sustain their sense (and practice) of security in two ways: to seek economic sufficiency; and to confirm their stay in Japan without fear of deportation. Some of them did not want this status but took it as it happened and some of them had had this idea of marriage since they came to Japan, choosing a Japanese partner for the security it provides.

Additionally, all of some fifty Chinese workers we made appointments and succeeded in conversing with said there were no restraints imposed by their managers on choices among work places within and outside their contacts, the three interviewed Thai workers had high incomes and were self content. But among some twenty Filipina workers we met, five said there was no choice of residence. The reasons for this were twofold: either their managers restrain them or workers restrained themselves. In the case of those who had had entertainment visas since before the harsher immigration control, the managers wanted to prevent them from doing

8 The then as well as current Tokyo mayor, Ishihara Shintarō, is infamous among these workers for being conservative and very anti-sex industry.

something outside their visa status, i.e. the managers were law abiding and the workers had to work within the regulation of the Entertainment and Amusement Trade Act. Then workers' own restraints came from their consciousness of the need to avoid neighbours, as they knew that the immigration control and the police had launched this campaign to crack down on them. Even if they had a spouse visa or entertainment visa, they did not want to be involved with the police in any way as they never knew when they could be arrested, according to the Prostitution Prevention Act, if the police could produce evidence of commercial sexual intercourse. This was one major reason that the sex industry as a whole went more underground as police raids became more frequent after the law amendment, even though that must have been aimed at finding traffickers and their victims.

What the Migrant Sexworkers Say

To conclude, I would like to focus on the points raised by the sex workers themselves in our interviews. The question was what they wanted from Japanese society. They in sum answered as follows:

They wanted Japanese society to consider how migrant sex workers shoulder risks in this society, including its economic discrepancies and sexually or gender-wise problematic relationships between men and women. Then, if Japanese people wanted to give support, they wanted it without direct intervention by the police or the immigration control because, in this context, they were working willingly and wanted not to be prevented from working. They also wanted to have information in their own languages through internet media if possible, particularly about medical and human rights issues. Leaflets and magazines within the industry would be welcome as they of course needed inside information about the industry, which was getting more and more difficult because the law amendment also made openly advertising to encourage work in the sex industry illegal now. For the workers, finding relatively better working conditions became trickier because they came to have more difficulty gaining information about a particular shop before they applied for work. If they did not have enough information, they could be more vulnerable as workers, as in any industry. They wanted to have the police's discriminatory behaviour changed, although I should also state an alternative narrative that the police had been getting better as the anti-trafficking policies proceeded; there were more educated individual police and migration control officers who were more sensible of the migrants' situations in the sex industry. However they also stated that interpreters for the police or for the courts, when they were arrested for suspected prostitution, also sometimes

misled them because these people had their own moral judgments about sexworkers as well as about foreigners.

Finally, they wanted us Japanese to protect sexworkers' private lives and safety at their current work in cases when they were working in safer environments. So, in the end, the largest question to Japanese society would be: how much can we agree with their requests? They are right to say that their situation now, including quasi-illegality and informality, has been created by the Japanese society putting its economic and other disparities as burdens on them, and from my theoretical framework as above, this has been created by wider global conditions. Thus, again, I have to suggest that these migrant workers need to be able to exercise their agency to make the best of their situation and improve it by being given chances to do so.

REFERENCES

8th ICAAP (International Congress on AIDS in Asia and the Pacific) (2007)

Columbo, Sri Lanka, August 16–23 (unpublished presentation on Trafficked Women in the Sex Industry in Japan: Their HIV/AIDS Prevention Skills by Kaname, Yukiko and Aoyama, Kaoru)

Anderson, Benedict (1991/2003)

Imagined Communities: Reflections of the Origin and Spread of Nationalism (Revised Edition), London and New York: Verso.

Aoyama, Kaoru (2010)

Forthcoming, "Changing Japanese Immigration Policy and Its Effects on Marginalized Communities," in *Journal of Intimate and Public Spheres*, Kyoto University Press.

——— (2009)

Thai Migrant Sexworkers: From Modernisation to Globalisation, Hampshire and New York, Palgrave/Macmillan.

Giddens, Anthony (1984/2001)

The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Hochschild, Arlie Russell (2002/2003)

"Love and Gold," in *Global Women: Nannies, Maids and Sex Workers in New Economy*, Ehrenreich, B. and Hochschild, A. R., eds., London: Granta Books: 15–29.

Hubbard, Phil (2006)

"Out of Touch and Out of Time? The Contemporary Policing of Sex Work" in *Sex Work Now*, Campbell, R. and O'Neill, M. eds., Devon: Willan Publishing: 1–32

Human Rights Watch (2000)

Owed Justice: Thai Women Trafficked into Debt Bondage in Japan, New York, Washington DC, London and Brussels: Human Rights Watch.

ILO (International Labour Organization) Office in Japan (2004)

Human Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation in Japan (in collaboration with Special Action Programme to Combat Forced Labour).

Jain, Devaki (2005)

Women, Development, and the UN: a Sixty-year Quest for Equality and Justice, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

JANATIP and F-GENS (Frontiers of Gender Studies) (2005)

“Nihon ni okeru jinshin baibai no higai-sha ni kansuru chōsa kenkyū” Houkoku-sho [A Report on ‘Research on the Damage by Trafficking in Japan’], Tokyo: JANATIP and F-GENS.

Ministry of Justice and the Police, Norway (2004)

Purchasing Sexual Services in Sweden and the Netherlands: Legal Regulation and Experiences (An abbreviated English version, A Report by a Working Group on the legal regulation of the purchase of sexual services).

Nussbaum, Martha C. (2001)

Women and Human Development, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Nyota, Mari and Aoyama, Kaoru (2007)

“Tai-oukoku chenrai-ken 7-gun ni okeru kikoku josei ichiji-chōsa” [An Empirical Research on Returnee Migrant Women in 7 Counties in Chiangrai Prefecture, Kingdom of Thailand] in *Ajia-taiheyō chiiki no jinshin torihiki mondai to Nihon no kokusai kouken: Josei no empawamento no shiten kara* [Human Trafficking in the Asia-Pacific Region and Japan’s International Contribution: From a Perspective of Women’s Empowerment], Saitama, Kokuritsu Josei Kyōiku Kaikan [NVEC: the National Women’s Education Center]: 51–78.

Sen, Amartya (1999)

Development as Freedom, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

Stones, Rob (2005)

Structuration Theory, Hampshire and New York: Palgrave/Macmillan.

US Department of State, Office of the Under Secretary for Global Affairs (2004, 2006)

Trafficking in Persons Report 2004 and 2006, US Department of State Publication 11150 and 11335, respectively (both Revised June).